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Chiricahua

PREFACE

I HAVE tried to fashion an account of the Chiricahua Apache that will be real and convincing for readers of Western European extractions and traditions. Often the anthropologist begins with the reactions and behavior of the average adult of the culture he has studied. The descriptive details then seem so far removed from anything we, the products of another life-way, know, that an atmosphere of exotic contrast is created, and the relevance of the material for us and for our problems fails to emerge. 128 121.

Consequently, I have endeavored to show how a person becomes a Chiricahua as well as to indicate what he does because he is a Chiricahua. Events are introduced in the order in which they are experienced in the course of the normal Chiricahua Apache life-cycle. The attempt has been made to convey an appreciation of first awareness to the culture, of initial contacts with its precepts, of the steady pressure by which it shapes its carriers, and of the adjustments to its demands, obligations, and satisfactions which the individual accepts. I have sought in this manner to shift the emphasis from strange externals to more familiar and important processes and purposes. I have wanted the average Chiricahua to be an intelligible and sympathetic figure, not in the sense that the reader approves or disapproves all his ideas and actions, but in the sense that the reader understands what he has become in terms of what he has experienced. My principal concern in this book has been with what is socialized and not with personality differences. Consequently, materials pertaining to the individual as such are stressed only when it is important to show the range of variation which the culture permits at particular points.

To trace, painstakingly and sensitively, the introduction of an individual to the formal requirements and implications of his culture requires more than a superficial treatment. It was nec-

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128 essary to make the study as "complete" as possible—not in any
• 121 ethnologically utopian sense but in the practicable, attainable meaning of an inquiry many sided enough to satisfy the reader that no important aspect of thought or behavior had been left entirely unexplored.

Moreover, since it was the socialization of the Chiricahua which was to be examined, I felt that not only the sequence of events but the contexts in which they are placed should be faithful to the Chiricahua view. In order to keep the emphases as the participants feel them, it became necessary to separate items which might have been brought together by some other classification and to unite data which would have been scattered in response to a more conventional topical treatment. Thus, many varieties of religious experience have been introduced before any thorough explanation of religious ideology is attempted, simply because these impressions of the supernatural are communicated to the child long before he is in a position to rationalize their significance. Again, raid and warfare are subsumed under the maintenance of the household, not because of any notions of my own concerning the nature of these activities, but because, at the period described, the Chiricahua considered the raid a legitimate industry and trained faithfully for its proper fulfilment with this in mind.

It is my feeling that the most successful ethnographic study in terms of what it honestly establishes is the one in which the writer intrudes least upon the scene. It is a solemn responsibility to act as one of the few links between the world of letters and a way of life which has bounded the happiness and sorrow of thousands of individuals for hundreds of years. In determining how and when and where the basic understandings and persuasions ordinarily come to the individual consciousness, the primary source must be the testimony of the people involved. It has been part of my method, therefore, to describe the culture in its own terms, to employ the comments and explanations of informants wherever they seem pertinent. I have preferred to use my own observations as research leads by means of which to elicit descriptions and experiences from Chiricahua friends rather than to

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employ them as final statements. The picture of external movement is essential, but the attitudes and evaluations that surround overt behavior are quite as important. These imponderables of context the informant can best supply.

It is my hope that a volume which depicts the development of the individual in relation to society, which draws so heavily from source materials, and which emphasizes the functions of institutions in context will be of interest not only to professional anthropologists but also to educators, child psychologists, sociologists, and to all those sincerely concerned with the comprehension of the human scene. With this larger potential audience in mind, native words have been translated into English where this could be done and technical terms have been avoided.[1] Because Dr. Harry Hoijer will soon have available a Chiricahua Apache dictionary, no glossary is included. For specialists, kinship materials are given in an appendix. Native names, unpronounceable to the average reader in the original and often cumbersome in translation, have been reduced to initials. An additional reason for this is that many of the references are of an intimate or religious nature, and the information was often given with the understanding that identities be masked. Exceptions are made in the case of Geronimo and several other former leaders who have become historical figures. Summaries of legends and references to mythological subjects are based on my own collection where other sources are not acknowledged.

This volume, besides describing the aboriginal life of the Chiricahua, is the first of a series of monographs which will characterize and compare the cultures of four Apache tribes of the American Southwest and the adjoining region of Old Mexico—the Chiricahua, Mescalero, Lipan, and Jicarilla. I have gathered material, also, concerning the present status and adjustment of the Chiricahua Apache. But most of these people now share a reservation in New Mexico with the Mescalero Apache. Consequently, in order that the acculturation of the inhabitants of the Mescalero Reservation may be treated as the logical unit it is,

[1] For the few Chiricahua words retained, the orthography recommended in the *American Anthropologist*, Vol. XXXVI, No. 4 (1934), has been followed.

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LOCATION AND HISTORICAL SKETCH

THIS volume describes the culture of an Apachean-speaking tribe of the American Southwest as it existed during the youth of the older informants from whom data were collected. The Chiricahua were already horsemen and possessed their first firearms, but tribal life had not yet been disrupted by hostilities with the Americans.

The territory which they controlled during this period was extensive and is not easy to define accurately. They ranged through southwestern New Mexico, southeastern Arizona, and the northern parts of the Mexican states of Sonora and Chihuahua. The Rio Grande acted as the eastern boundary. Occasional journeys and raids brought them as far north as the pueblo outposts of Laguna, Acoma, and Zuñi, but ordinarily they did not stray much farther north than the present site of Quemado, New Mexico. The western limits of their country can be roughly indicated, from north to south, by the present towns of Spur Lake, Luna, Reserve, and Glenwood in New Mexico, and by Duncan, Wilcox, Johnson, Benson, Elgin, and Parker Canyon in Arizona. To the south an undetermined area in northern Mexico was also under their control.

The Chiricahua bands were three in number. The most eastern and northern band, whose territories joined those of the Mescalero Apache at the Rio Grande, controlled almost all the Chiricahua territory west of the Rio Grande in New Mexico and has been given a number of names throughout the literature. Those occurring most frequently are Warm Springs or Ojo Caliente Apache, Coppermine Apache, Mimbreños Apache, and Mogollones Apache. The Chiricahua name for this band is *čtθénè*, "Red Paint People." In historic times this band has been led by Mangus Colorado, Victorio, Nana, and Loco. From historical records and the accounts of informants, the local groups and camp sites of the members of this band can be traced to the

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MESCALERO

INTRODUCTION TO MESCALERO AND CHIRICAHUA APACHE CULTURES[1]

Well over one hundred plants used by Mescalero and Chiricahua Apache Indians for food, drink, and narcotics are listed and discussed in the pages which follow this introduction. These two tribes can be treated together in such context because of the close correspondences between them in most aspects of material and non-material culture, because they inhabited contiguous areas in the same general ecological region, and because the plants of the region utilized by them and the methods of preparation were remarkably alike for both peoples.

Little guess-work or uncertainty has been permitted in the material here presented. Trips were made into the field with Apache informants who found and gathered specimens of the plants formerly used by their people, and at this time the account of manner of utilization was recorded. The specimens were pressed, mounted, and later identified.

The list of names to be found at the back of this bulletin is by no means a complete inventory of the plants used by these Apache for the purposes we are considering. The work was conducted during a drought period and specimens of a number of plants were not obtained. Again, because of immaturity, or for some other reason, certain plants were never positively identified and the data pertaining to them have been excluded. Then too, the present Mescalero Apache

1. The first section of this bulletin (with the exception of the unit on geographical setting) has been prepared by Dr. M. E. Opler and the second section by Dr. E. F. Castetter. Unless otherwise noted, the facts concerning the preparation and use of plants by the Chiricahua and Mescalero Apache have been gathered during the years 1931-34 in the course of ethnological field-work made possible by the University of Chicago, Columbia University, the Southwest Society, the National Research Council, Social Science Research Council, and the Laboratory of Anthropology of Santa Fe. The authors are very much indebted to Professor A. L. Hershey, of New Mexico State College, who identified a number of the plant specimens; to Dr. Kirk Bryan, of Harvard University, for suggestions bearing on the geographical setting of these Apache; and to Dr. Harry Hoijer, of the University of Chicago, for his aid in the translation of Apache plant names. Thanks are due to many Apache informants, and especially to Charles Smith and Sarah Kenoi for assistance in the collection of the plants.

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CHIRICAHUA APACHE MATERIAL RELATING TO SORCERY

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THE major anxieties of the Chiricahua Apache Indians of the Southwest relate to sickness and to sorcery. However, since much of the sickness is explained, directly or indirectly, in terms of the use of evil power (sorcery), the greatest consternation is caused by the likelihood of attacks through baneful supernatural means.

Chiricahua Apache do not like to discuss the topic of witchcraft. Some informants who were willing to talk about anything else, even the most intimate matters, simply refused to give information on this subject. There are a number of reasons for this. In the first place, to demonstrate too much knowledge of witchcraft places a person under suspicion of being a witch himself; too great a familiarity with the ways of those who "kill in secret" is considered a result of unhealthy interests or dubious practices. Also, an element of risk is involved. To speak freely about witches is to invite their attention and persecution, especially if the comments, as those of any decent Apache should be, are critical. Finally, the entire area of thought is so conducive to fear and so completely filled with unpleasant memories that the ordinary informant shrinks from exposing himself to the dreams and thoughts which are likely to follow such a discussion. Usually it is only when he is burning with indignation over some "evidence" of witchcraft or when he is in the midst of a feud with someone whom he is prepared to label a witch that the Chiricahua will express himself on this subject.

Thus the five accounts published here deal with an aspect of Chiricahua culture about which it is difficult to recover abundant material. They illustrate the Chiricahua Apache concept of the

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121 754 128 plasticity of supernatural power, namely, that power may be used for good or evil depending on the character and design of the shaman. Moreover, they suggest that, according to the Chiricahua view, evil may arise either from the malevolence of man or from the advantages which evil power offers man if he will agree to be the instrument of the forces of malice. But it is plain throughout that sorcery can operate only through man and that consequently evil cannot flourish as long as humankind resists it courageously.

The last episode is included, despite its modern elements, because it is a good example of what takes place when new symbols are substituted for old without a change in the basic thought and attitude pattern. [178]

754 787 539 1. *The Power of Sorcery Is Offered to a Chiricahua*

A friend told me he had a chance to be a witch. This was at Fort Sill, Oklahoma.[1] He was sleeping in his house alone at night. There was a window right by him. It was dark. He heard somebody get in and walk around every night. He'd lock up carefully, but he'd hear the window and door rattle and someone get in.

This thing appeared to him inside the house one night. An old woman and an old man came in naked and stood by his bed.[2] They were no persons he knew, just spirits. He was talking to them. While they were talking, a young boy and girl came in entirely naked and stood before him. And they told him, "We came over here to give you power to be a witch."

He says he talked to them. He said, "How am I going to be a witch?"

He told me later, "My friend, it's no wonder that when you suspect a witch you can't find out about him. It's right in here in the middle of the tongue. They told me to stick my tongue

[1] This story dates back to the time when the Chiricahua were held as prisoners of war at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, after being removed from their territory in the Southwest. [648 795 577]

[2] Shamelessness, nakedness, and incest are associated with sorcery on the grounds that only witches would be guilty of such excesses. [291 835]